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No. 1,154 London, Aug. 8, 1958. 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

ALDERMASTON

## BEER THROWN OVER SPEAKER

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

**Y**OUTHS lounging outside a public house in Newbury (Berks) Market Place attempted to break up a meeting on Sunday organised by those taking part in the picketing of the atomic weapons plant at the neighbouring village of Aldermaston.

A glass of beer was thrown over one of the speakers, Michael Randle, chairman of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, and he was frequently pushed off his stand.

### LARGE CROWD

He continued the meeting cheerfully without a stand, pointing out that it was easier to knock him down than his arguments.

Before this incident the hecklers were challenged by London University student, Carol Taylor. She said to a group standing some way off: "If you don't agree with us come over and tell us why." They remained where they were. Promptly Carol Taylor got down from the stand and moved over to them. Mohammed had come to the mountain. Soon a large crowd was milling round.

"If any of you were asked to take a new-born child and destroy it I know none of you would do it," she told them. Yet nuclear weapons were maiming children yet unborn.

### PLUCK

In spite of the interruptions her message got through. One man shook her hand. "I glory in your pluck," he told her, "even though I work at the Aldermaston plant."

Meanwhile a loudspeaker van toured the town announcing the meeting and other vigillars gave out the latest Direct Action Committee leaflet, "A Matter of Life and Death."

The leaflet, which is being distributed in nearby towns and villages, stresses the danger of war being triggered off by events in the Middle East—or even by accident.

● ON BACK PAGE

# AND NOW DIRTIER BOMBS

## Eisenhower's denial untrue

**T**HE American Defence Department is making "dirtier" bombs by pulling existing bombs out of their stockpile and adding new fuses. This has emerged clearly from a letter written by Mr. McElroy, the Secretary of Defence, to the Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Senator Russell.

### LUCKY THIRTEEN SEEN BY THOUSANDS

**L**ED by Stuart Morris, carrying a banner, "Join the Peace Pledge Union," with Sybil Morrison carrying a similar banner in the rear, eleven people with gold and black posters saying "War—We say 'No'" paraded among the thousands wandering round London on August Bank Holiday afternoon.

Two leaflet distributors had an arduous job; four hands being scarcely sufficient to meet the demand. Winifred Greenfield, selling Peace News as usual at Foyles' Corner, hurried across the road when she saw the posters coming down Charing Cross Road and joined the march.

This Saturday afternoon (to-morrow) at 4 p.m. Sybil Morrison will be ready to march again from Dick Sheppard House (See Diary, page seven).

### Fenner Brockway to report from Warsaw

**F**ENNER BROCKWAY, MP, is visiting a Communist state for the first time this week. He is in Warsaw as one of the speakers for an American Friends Service Committee seminar. His subject: Individual Liberty and the State.

Other speakers will include a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and a French Academician.

Fenner Brockway will be sending a special report to Peace News from Warsaw for our next issue.



Roy Fry, London bricklayer, takes a turn with others in the nine-week picket at Aldermaston.

## Will Labour end Conscription?

**I**N a letter to the Manchester Guardian last week, Mr. Richard Crossman, MP, charged the Labour Peace Fellowship with wilfully misunderstanding him. "Any suggestion," he wrote, "that I am against the abolition of conscription is of course absurd. Indeed, I specifically re-emphasised in the debate that we are all agreed that conscription must go as soon as there are sufficient Regulars to fulfil the minimum requirements of the three services."

The LPF statement read: "This meeting of the National Council of the Labour Peace Fellowship views with apprehension the action of Mr. Richard Crossman, MP, a member of the National Executive Committee, in advocating in the House of Commons an extension of National Service. We call upon the National Executive to reaffirm its policy of abolishing conscription and to state clearly that a Labour Government, if elected, will carry out this policy not later than the date decided by the present government."

### VISITORS WILL SEE AIR BASE VIGIL

**A** ONE-DAY protest vigil will greet visitors to the "open day" at Wethersfield (Essex) air base on Saturday, August 23. The vigil will start at 1 p.m., one and a half hours before the opening ceremony, at the air station eight miles outside Braintree. After all the crowds have gone the vigillars will leave at about 7.30 p.m.

The vigil-keepers will be meeting in Braintree at 10 a.m. and walking to the air base from there. Further details may be had from Mr. J. E. C. Brand, Bramble Tye, Stanway Green, Nr. Colchester.

## AT THE SIGN OF THE BROKEN RIFLE



**U**NITED by the symbol of the Broken Rifle, more than one hundred members of the War Resisters' International gathered at the Smallholders High School at Store Restrup.

### Government leaders not giving their minds to peace issues

**N**O real study of the problems of armaments and peace is being made by those holding high positions in the Government.

This charge was made last week by Philip Noel-Baker, MP, author of "The Arms Race," in a letter to the British Quaker journal, The Friend.

In support of his assertion he quotes Professor Rabi, until recently Chief Scientific Adviser on weapons to President Eisenhower, as saying:

"The facts about modern warfare have just not penetrated, and that goes for the heads of Governments, for otherwise they would ponder these facts every day as the daily number one problem."

From his own experience in Parliament, Mr. Noel-Baker finds that very few people in authority have found time to read the essential documents, still less the record of what has been said by British delegates in disarmament discussions.

"Parliamentarians," he writes, "leave me with the feeling that they do not devote more than a few hours a year to the practical problems involved in armament reduction, and the strengthening of the rule of law through the United Nations."

"For these reasons I believe that a strong public movement in support of all-round disarmament is urgently required," Philip Noel-Baker concludes.

See "The Tragic Disparity"—p. 4

Jutland, for a summer school from July 21-28.

For several years the Scandinavian Sections have held their own summer school, but this year on the suggestion of WRI Headquarters invitations were extended to all other Sections for the first time.

It was most encouraging to find that young pacifists were easily in the majority at the school which contained representatives from twelve countries. Seven of the eleven representatives from Britain came from Yorkshire.

The programme allowed for two lectures each day, after each of which the school broke up into discussion groups.

Of no less importance were the opportunities given for informal talks and for social activities which helped to create an

### By STUART MORRIS

General Secretary of the  
British Peace Pledge Union

atmosphere of real friendliness and co-operation in spite of language difficulties. The informal part of the programme included a camp fire sing-song; a film shown as an example of American propaganda against totalitarianism, and also one of pacifist activities in the German town of Essen; a closing party and dance, and a whole-day excursion to the North Sea coast.

At other times members of the High School, who were also in residence, entertained the summer school with a physical training display, a dramatic version of "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs," and an orchestral concert.

"Some causes of war and ways to peace" was the main subject for discussion during the school.

Speaking on the economic causes of war, Svend Haugeaard dealt with the armaments industry, trade rivalries, financial manipulations, inequalities both within and be-

★ ON PAGE FIVE



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Christians and the Bomb

IN a quotation (PN, July 4) from his article in the Church Quarterly Review, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Mr. Warren Sandell implied that were Christ alive today on the earth, He might not condemn Christian participation in nuclear warfare "merely because of the extensive destruction of human life," and concludes that it is possible for it to be impious to attempt to frustrate what may prove to be a divine method of ending human existence.

I agree that this latter may be so, but while we have Christ's teachings we must follow them in relation to nuclear warfare as well as individual life. Surely Christ never condoned intentional, planned destruction of life in any form?

How else are we to understand His teachings than as the practice of love in every sphere of life, and how can love towards anyone or any group include a plan or desire to destroy them or expose them to the danger of radio-active fall-out?—

ANNE LILLINGTON, Park Ave. Hull

### "Monopoly in War"

AS an ardent pacifist of many years' standing, I have followed with admiration Sybil Morrison's weekly articles until "Monopoly in War" (PN July 11). In this I think, she reveals a fundamental weakness in her approach to the problem of peace.

Her logic on the causes of war should lead her to see that not only are "the weapons of war the symptoms of the illness," but that war itself is a symptom of the root cause, i.e., the uncontrolled relationships between sovereign States. Although the acceptance of the principle of the rejection of violence in any form by the majority would be the perfect solution, it is as obviously impractical at present as would be the suggestion that peace is possible within a sovereign State at present without a code of law and a police force.

The problem is the sacrifice of national sovereignty and the establishment of a World Federal Government, with an agreed international code of law and a single police force. As with police forces within States, the function of the latter would be one of restraint, and there is no more reason why a world war should develop under this system than that a civil war should occur within a democratic sovereign State.

I see no reasons for considering the World Government "a terrifying authoritarian idea" any more than is our own Government. There is no fear in any country of weapons possessed by themselves, only of weapons held by other

sovereign States, and once there is but one State this fear will wither away as the right of nations to make arms is relinquished.

You may of course ask where pacifism comes into this, and in answer I say that it is a belief of more importance in relation to personal behaviour. By this I am not advocating "leaving the dirty work to someone else," but by our personal example showing the way of non-violence which can gradually supersede the rule of law with a police force.—K. WORTHY, Ucheldir, Princes Road, Rhuddlan, Flint.

Sybil Morrison writes

I cannot agree with the assumption that "The problem is the sacrifice of national sovereignty and the establishment of a World Federal Government."

Sacrifice of national sovereignty is one thing and would certainly be a necessary first step to disarmament and mutual aid, but the establishment of a World Federal Government is not necessarily the corollary to the abandonment of national sovereignty.

It is a false and dangerous analogy to equate a civil police force with a world establishment possessed of all the most monstrous weapons of war. (I was dealing in my article with this specific suggestion.)

In Britain at any rate the police are not armed with lethal weapons, and a World Government with a force composed of all weapons of war might be tempted to use that force in a way as far removed from what we would call legitimate police action, as the Gestapo or Ogpu.

I do not agree that pacifism is "of more importance in relation to personal behaviour." On the contrary it seems to me that in that respect it is of less importance, since a breakdown in decent human behaviour would not, and does not lead to millions of people killing each other.

### JWs in Russia

RELATIVE to the treatment of Jehovah's Witnesses in the Soviet Union, it will be of interest to many readers to know that an offer was made in 1956 by official representatives of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society to meet representatives of the Soviet Government, either in Moscow or at any other place convenient to them.

No official reaction was forthcoming from the Russian leaders, not because of political activity by Jehovah's Witnesses, but because the Kremlin are afraid of the effect of free, unfettered Bible knowledge on the minds of the people. For example, the scriptures clearly show that peace can only be permanently established under God's kingdom and not by Communism, but Mr. Khrushchov is unwilling for this vital truth to be proclaimed in Russia.—

JOHN STEVENS, Harberts Road, Essex.

### RELIGIOUS FLASHPOINT

Most Christian Theologians are blind to the incompatibility of Christ and War

For many years Karl Barth, the Swiss theologian, has held a dominant position among Christian Theologians. During the last War he said:—

"The Christians who do not realise that they must take part unreservedly in this war, must have slept over their Bibles as well as over their newspapers."

Pacifists must themselves face the implications of the Christian Faith.

Write for free literature of the Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ to  
Wallace Hancock, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.

### LONDON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY LTD.

## NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

During the recognised holiday months in Great Britain it is as well that members of the London Co-operative Society should be aware of the National Membership Scheme that is in operation throughout the country. In almost every town throughout Great Britain there is a Co-operative Society and the National Membership Scheme enables visiting members to receive dividend on purchases at most of them.

Wherever our members go, seaside, town or country, the L.C.S. share number should be quoted with the prefix "L." The local Society then arrange for such purchases to be transferred to the London Society, and the current rate of Dividend of your Society will be paid.

## Friend of the oppressed

A  
Profile  
by  
Margaret  
Tims



### COMMANDER T. FOX-PITT

served for more than twenty years in Northern Rhodesia, as District and then Provincial Commissioner. Now the Central African Federal Government has refused him permission to enter the country on a private visit.

Commander Fox-Pitt explained that the decision was given to him in a personal interview at Rhodesia House. He described the procedure as arbitrary, undemocratic and on the pattern of the authoritarian state, for the following reasons:

(1) The decision was an Order of the Governor-General in Council, but no written copy was supplied to him, nor even the number or date of the order.

(2) No reason was given for the decision.

(3) There is no right of appeal.

The implication throughout the interview was that there was something discreditable about his exclusion which he might not care to hear. Cdr. Fox-Pitt believes that this is a deliberate technique, which might intimidate some people from making their names public because of the "smear" on their character. He feels himself that the publicity is a two-edged weapon that may well redound to the discredit of the Federal Government and cause a loss of faith in its integrity and stability.

His own banning is only one of a series: Rev. Michael Scott; Basil Davidson, journalist; Doris Lessing, writer; Rosalyn Ainslie, British representative of "Africa South"; George Houser, Secretary of the American Committee on Africa; and Arthur E. Lewis, trade unionist. He regards this last as the most serious exclusion of all in its attack on the liberty of the people. Mr. Lewis was appointed general secretary of the European Mineworkers' Union in Northern Rhodesia and has not been permitted to take up his post. His case is now being fought by the TUC, who may be powerful enough to get the ban rescinded.

Since all decisions concerning immigration and entry to the three territories of the Federation—Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland—are made by the Federal Government, they are not subject to question by the British Parliament. Mr. John Stonehouse, MP, was able to put an indirect question on July 10 by asking the Prime Minister whether he would raise at the next meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers the question of freedom of travel within the Commonwealth for British subjects; and raise with the Prime Minister of the Federation the recent banning of Commander T. Fox-Pitt.

The reply was that it is never the practice to give notice beforehand of particular subjects which might or might not be raised at the Conference.

Mr. Creech-Jones, a former Labour Colonial Secretary, also referred to increasing anxiety about restrictions on the free movement of "quite worthy and responsible British subjects" about the Commonwealth.

It would be difficult to regard Thomas Fox-Pitt as other than worthy and responsible. His only crime would appear to be his well-known opposition to the Federation and his friendly co-operation with Africans in securing their rights. His passion for justice is Victorian rather than Marxist in its conviction; in fact, there is nothing Marxist about it. It springs from a hatred of the oppression of man by man and of the cruelty of dominant groups; he is moved, not by the claims of conflicting interests, but by the long-drawn agony of the martyrdom of man.

For the past two years he has been Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, and with its Director, Mr. C. W. W. Greenidge, has helped to expose the notorious "mock-pilgrimages" to Mecca, whereby Moslem Africans are enticed into Saudi Arabia by slave-traders posing as missionaries. The Society is pressing for the implementation of the Slavery Conventions by the United Nations, and stresses the need for supervisory machinery to make it effective: so far only 21 states have ratified the 1956 Supplementary Convention, and no evidence concerning slavery has been supplied

by any state. It is hoped that the British Government may now take the initiative in this matter, since the Foreign Secretary admitted in the House of Commons on July 2 that the present machinery is not satisfactory.

Cdr. Fox-Pitt has also investigated slavery in Morocco, where he met slaves who had escaped from Mauritania; his application for a visa to visit that country was ignored by the French Government. Another struggle for human rights in which he is concerned is that of the Australian aborigines. In 1957 full citizen rights were given to aborigines except those classed as "wards of the state"; in the Northern Territory, out of a population of 16,000 aborigines only six were granted these rights. The reason for this, he suggested, might be a reluctance to pay them full wages.

As a former naval commander, Thomas Fox-Pitt is not opposed to the use of force, which he believes may sometimes be necessary to make a protest effective. But he feels that the best hope of ending oppression is by a general acceptance of human rights, and in this he would like to see the British Commonwealth leading the world. That is why the future of Central Africa is so important, and the test will come with the review of the Constitution in 1960. The Labour Party has pledged itself to safeguard the protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The return of Dr. Hastings Banda will strengthen the voice of Africans in Nyasaland; the Africans of Northern Rhodesia, who feel just as strongly, have no comparable spokesman, and it is on their behalf that Cdr. Fox-Pitt now appeals for support.



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## 400 YEARS IN GAOL New hope for French COs

From a correspondent

A TOTAL of 400 years in prison has now been served by the 120 French conscientious objectors now in jail—and there is no end in sight.

This is the reliable estimate of Pierre Martin, member of the War Resisters' International Council and editor of the French pacifist weekly "Liberté."

But these figures do not take into account the number of men, estimated at between 1,000 and 2,000, who do not object to military service in principle but have gone to prison rather than participate in the "dirty war" in Algeria. An even larger number of men have "disappeared" rather than report for duty.

### To end persecution

Now, however, there comes news that there is reason to believe that an influential member of de Gaulle's Government sincerely seeks a perhaps minor, but nevertheless concrete, step towards ending the persecution of French war resisters.

Five resisters have now each served over five years in jail. One of these, Edmond Schaguéné, was reported in PN last week to be starting his eleventh year in prison.

Moves are being made in France in support of these men, and in co-operation with these Peace News readers may make their protests and urge particularly that these five men be granted full and complete pardons immediately. Letters should be sent to: M. Charles de Gaulle, Hotel Matignon, Paris, France.

## GERMANY'S NO-H-BOMB SCIENTISTS ASSURED OF SUPPORT

HOW are the German scientists who have taken a strong stand against the equipping of the German Army with nuclear weapons facing up to the opposition in their country?

Peace News put this question recently to Mrs. Max Born, wife of Prof. Born, a leading member of the "Gottingen Group," whose manifesto won world-wide admiration last year.

"There are actually no direct attacks on us," Mrs. Born told Peace News, "but just slanderous rumours that those who fight against the atom bomb, and especially against the arming of the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons, are Communist inspired."

"They realise that their decision may involve them and those who follow them in personal difficulties (defamation, insinuations that they are in the pay of political groups, being ridiculed as mere intellectuals,

whispering campaigns), but this will not change their attitude."

"They have given practical proof of this by their participation in the unanimous decision of the West German Physical Society to support financially those young physicists who in the future may suffer for conscientious reasons."

"The Manifesto of the Gottingen Group was dictated by conscience and by an awareness of a responsibility towards their own people as well as towards the human race."

"There have always been public acts of conscience, Luther was an example; there has always been a majority against them in the beginning; they have always been 'inconvenient' to those who held temporal or spiritual power and who have therefore tried to put them off as intruders, as uncritical, unrealistic, unpolitical citizens who are not to be taken seriously."

"The Gottingen Group have objected to taking an immoral course and have declared 'So far and no further,' and they have given their reasons and conclusions."

### Protest telegram was destroyed

IN a Press conference held by Mr. Feldman, the head of the Swiss police, to explain why the Swiss Government had banned the Basle conference on nuclear weapons, it was announced that the reasons for the ban were the meeting's intention to form a committee against the equipment of the Swiss Army with nuclear weapons and because there were a number of Communists amongst the sponsors of the meeting.

The German Committee Against Nuclear Armament sent a telegram to the Swiss Government denying both these charges. The Times reports that the Swiss Government has destroyed this telegram.

The General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, Stuart Morris, has raised the matter with the Swiss Ambassador in London.

A monument to 48,000 foreign soldiers, including over 14,000 British soldiers who died fighting on Japanese territory in the last war, has been placed in the Temple of the Goddess of Mercy (Ryozon Kannon) in Kyoto, South Japan.

## PEACE CAMP AT ALDERMASTON



"First step to peace: Nuclear disarmament," says the Aldermaston-march banner flying at the camp site near the Aldermaston H-bomb plant. Four tents and a caravan provide accommodation for those engaged in a peaceful picket of the plant.

## SINCERITY MAKES HISTORY

From Our Special Correspondent

MICHAEL APPLEWHITE, a Regular in the RAF, made history when he appeared before the London Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors recently.

He was the first person ever to have been allowed to apply straight to a tribunal as the result of refusing to obey further orders whilst abroad.

Previously, as his representative, Pastor Astwood pointed out, men in his position have had to suffer repeated sentences of detention abroad for refusal to obey orders. Only then were they sent to Britain and after obtaining another sentence of three months or more allowed to go before a tribunal.

Indeed, but for the efforts of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors and the fact that Michael Applewhite's sincerity had induced the Commander-in-Chief, 2nd Tactical Air Force, himself to make representations, it is doubtful if this CO would have fared any better than his predecessors.

The death of his brother whilst in the Forces had deeply affected all Michael

Applewhite's family, and his return to the Church had made him completely reconsider his position in the RAF. He came to the conclusion that as a Christian he could not continue to take part in the Armed Forces. Twice he asked to be posted home from his station in Germany in order to take advantage of the regulations, but was refused.

### REFUSAL

Finally, he decided that come what may he could carry on no longer, and on March 21 refused to put on his uniform. He was court-martialled and given 92 days' detention. Despite this the Air Ministry at first refused to send him to Britain, but further representations resulted in his being brought home to this country and being allowed to apply to the tribunal sitting in its advisory capacity.

The evidence of the flight-lieutenant sent from the station at West Drayton where he had been held, and of his other witness, made the Tribunal have no hesitation in recommending a discharge from the five-year balance of his engagement.

Once again it can be said that the sincerity of conscience has overcome the regulations and induced those in authority to

consider the moral implications of an individual's stand before all else.

FOOTNOTE.—The regulations prescribe that Regular or National Service men in the Forces are allowed to come before a tribunal only if they commit an offence in Great Britain on grounds of conscience and are given a sentence of three months or more by a court-martial. If the Tribunal recognises that the reason for the offence was conscientious objection, they will recommend the discharge of the CO, and this recommendation is invariably followed by the Service Department.

### Briefly

HIGHSPOT of the Hinckley (Leicester) mile-long procession of Sunday School children on July 5 was a float depicting the atomic explosion at Hiroshima, and the challenge it presented to Christians.

The streets were crowded to watch the 2,000 children accompanied by five bands

A Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament group has been formed in Wimbledon. The secretary is Mrs. Freda Pacey, 47, Dennis Park Crescent, S.W.20, whom anybody interested should contact.

PEACE NEWS—August 8, 1958—3

## KEEPING ON...



British troops in Jordan, American troops in Lebanon, go-slow at the Summit.

There can be no easing up during August for Peace News. No let up for the Peace News Fund.

We have not quite reached our target for the

half-year ended July 31, so if you have not been able to send anything before, can you do it now?

Cheques, postal orders, stamps... they will be able to play a big part in the campaign which Peace News never stops waging.

### THE EDITOR.

Contributions since July 25: £105 17s 11d.

Total since Feb. 1: £866 19s. 11d.

Still needed by Feb. 1, 1959: £1,239.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged from: Old reader, 10s.; Watford, 6s. 6d.; R. F. P., 10s.; Aberdare, 2s. 6d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

To guide readers who wish to benefit Peace News when making their wills, the following form of Legacy is suggested: ... and I give the sum of £..... free of duty to Peace News, Ltd., the principal place of business of which is at 3 Blackstock Road, Stoke Newington, in the County of London.

## NEW HEROES FOR FILM DIRECTOR

THE French film director Claude Autant-Lara is so impressed with the courage and steadfastness of conscientious objectors that he has decided to make a film on the subject.

He has told the French pacifist weekly, Liberté, that the projected film will be based on facts, but regretted that it would not be possible to take shots of the actual prisons and camps in which the objectors are held.

"The conscientious objector takes a risk, he is a hero," said Claude Autant-Lara. "I do not like deserters. I do not like those who run away. The objector remains. We have to reckon with him. His presence is a weapon."

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## THE TRAGIC DISPARITY

**STATESMEN FIND IT EASIER** to get new technical military problems resolved than they do to ponder the revolutionary consequences of the facts of modern warfare.

There is such a disproportion between the facts of modern warfare and the policies with which statesmen concern themselves that they are drifting towards a situation that may precipitate a nuclear war.

The small grasp displayed by those responsible for negotiations to achieve arms reduction has clearly impressed Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, MP.

In a letter to *The Friend* last week he remarked that the speeches in Parliament of the people in authority leave him with a feeling that they do not devote more than a few hours a year to the practical problems involved in armament reduction. Very few of them, he believes, have found time to read the essential documents.

He quotes Professor Rabi, who has been Chief Scientific Adviser on weapons to President Eisenhower, as saying: "The facts about modern warfare have just not penetrated; and that goes for the heads of Governments, for otherwise they would ponder these facts every day as their daily number one problem."

**THE 1955 "SUMMIT" CONFERENCE** registered a temporary recognition by the statesmen of the Great Powers that war had become an instrument of policy too dangerous to be used.

Mr. Duncan Sandys summed this up in his assertion that the alternative had come to lie between total war and total peace. But there is such an absence of consequence between words and deeds that since that "Summit" conference Britain has twice sent its armed forces into foreign territory to impose on those living there its own views as to a satisfactory policy.

It has actually made war in Egypt, and it has sent troops ready for war into Jordan.

There is no need to examine the policy justification for either of these actions; neither is consistent with the Government's axiom in its own White Paper accepting the alternatives of total war or total peace.

There has been surface acceptance that resort to war is no longer conceivable as an instrument of national policy, and a complete refusal to face the elementary consequence of this acceptance.

Senator Anderson, of New Mexico, recently alleged that far from the US Defence Department continuing nuclear weapon tests to achieve "cleaner" bombs, it had actually taken bombs from the stockpile and had them adjusted to make them dirtier.

General Alfred Starbush, Director of AEC Division of Military Application, had already explained why "cleaner" bombs were a military necessity: "We need a cleaner bomb so that we can safely hit targets near our friends, if need be."

The US Defence Department now explains why dirty bombs are also necessary. The changes in the bombs, we are told, is to ensure that they will burst on the earth's surface instead of in the air. As an accompanying effect, by the displacement and dispersal of earth and buildings, the surface burst will cause increased local radio-activity. This change is necessary to make a crater where the objective is a "hard target."

Leaving aside the awkward question whether the "hard targets" might possibly be "near our friends," we see that two military problems have been solved.

But they are problems that have arisen only because the practical capacity to prevent a war from arising has not been developed. In so far, of course, as the "deterrent" is really expected to deter, their solution is of merely academic interest.

**IT IS THIS TREMENDOUS CONTRAST** between the capacity displayed in solving the problems of warfare in progress, with farsighted anticipation and provision for every contingency, and the fumbling incapacity in dealing with the dominant problem for all mankind, that makes the outlook for the future so black.

The technical problems of mutual destruction can all be solved by the experts of the contending forces in separation and in competition. The main problem, that of making all this ingenuity and labour superfluous, has to be solved by international co-operation.

It would be a hopeful move if the nations' leaders accepted a more modern view of what can be involved in diplomacy. It can no longer, consistently with sanity, be conducted on the basis of scoring over opponents.

Today effective diplomacy and negotiation must mean successful co-operation in subduing and removing the conflict that threatens the world's peace and the nuclear danger that threatens all humanity.

## AROUND THE SUMMIT

**THE** complete change of scenery which Mr. Khrushchov's communication of Tuesday has produced in the diplomatic battle about a Summit Meeting does not really change the fundamental facts underlying the situation. Mr. Khrushchov has evidently changed his tactics but not his overall strategy, while he has strengthened his position by the now declared full unity with China. The matter will be further dealt with in our next issue, the commentary below having been written as early as Bank Holiday Monday.

Writing from Washington on August 1, *The Times'* own correspondent reported Mr. Dulles as said to be "far from recognising any Russian stake in the Middle East" and hoping that, if Mr. Khrushchov did not want war, he could be prevailed upon to renounce methods of influence and penetration which might be held by Washington to constitute indirect aggression.

Against this, *The Times* wrote on August 4 with regard to the previous week's visit to London of Mr. Johnston, President Eisenhower's special correspondent concerned with economic aid, that he "was strongly advocating proposals for greatly increased economic support for Middle East states, in which the Russians might be invited to take part." (Our italics).

The two things seem contradictory unless it is assumed in Washington that the Russians can be expected to help to diminish Middle Eastern discontents and unrest favourable to their cause, while the area would continue to be strengthened as an advance base for the West.

### Softening an attack

**IF** General de Gaulle's emphatic deviation from Western unity in declaring himself against a New York Security Council meeting, and in favour of Mr. Khrushchov's proposal for a direct summit meeting at Geneva seems puzzling to some people, they have failed to appreciate the cleverness of the move. This is more than a typically de Gaullean assertion of French co-equality with anyone else. By siding with Mr. Khrushchov, the general has softened in advance the attack to be expected from the Russian side on French policy in Algeria.

### Facing Chiang

**IN** the acrimonious pre-conference exchange of letters between Washington and Moscow the US President has at last scored a point which must have brought a rueful grin to Mr. Khrushchov's face, and a pleased smile to impartial observers. President Eisenhower rejects Moscow as a meeting place in spite of Mr. Khrushchov's pointed observation that there would be no security difficulties there, by saying that the recent demonstrations against the American Embassy leave him in legitimate doubt on that point. If that teaches the Russians the unwisdom of "spontaneous" mass demonstrations of this kind, that will be all to the good.

But it is a small point of academic success if set against the hard fact of Mr. Khrushchov's unexpected visit to China.

It now becomes understandable why he could envisage the possibility of finding himself face to face with a Chiang Kai-shek representative in the Security Council with surprising equanimity. He will now be speaking not only for 200 million Russians but for a block of 1,000 million Communists as soon as anything comes under discussion that is linked up with world peace.

And it would be underrating the intelligence of the people of the West if it were assumed that they will not see the insanity of the great Republic of China being thus only indirectly represented at a meeting which may prove decisive between world peace and world war, in which a Formosan representative holds a veto power.

### Movement in decline

**THERE** is reason to hope that the power of blackmail exercised by the Algerian settlers in the affairs of France is now coming to an end, and that the "Committee of Public Safety" set up on May 13 is not likely to be a considerable factor much longer.

On General de Gaulle's accession to power the Committee made a neo-Fascist declaration in regard to the government of France that General Salan held to be "receivable" but that General de Gaulle characterised as preremptory and untimely. It is to be presumed that General Salan was the recipient of a rebuke.

Fourteen members of the Committee have now made another similar declaration indicating their desires as to the future government of France, but this has been followed by the lifting of a prohibition that the Committee has imposed upon itself preventing participation in the work of political groups. The declaration of the fourteen therefore becomes simply their own opinion as representing the views of the particular right-wing groups with which they are associated.

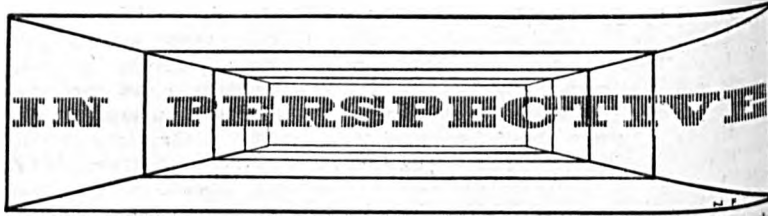
General Salan has kept clear of all this, although General Massu (of the tortures) still presides over the

original Committee of Public Safety. The 14 responsible for the neo-Fascist resolution, however, joined by two others, have set up their own Committee for the establishment of a new movement of public safety, and it is to be presumed that General Massu is not connected with this.

### Stockholm

**THE** declaration on disarmament approved unanimously at the final plenary session of the World Congress for Disarmament and International Co-operation at Stockholm last month referred to the aggression in the Middle East, called for the immediate and unconditional ending of nuclear weapon tests which "has been put into effect unilaterally by the Soviet Government," urged the immediate establishment of zones from which nuclear weapons shall be excluded, and the reduction of conventional armaments under international control through measures of inspection based on mutual trust. Negotiations for disarmament should be resumed at a summit conference, within the framework of the United Nations, or at a special disarmament conference with a view to a world disarmament conference to be held not later than 1959.

The attitude of the Russian Government today is much less a threat to world peace than that of the governments of the West, and particularly than that of the US Government, so that there is not today the incongruity that could once be found in a declaration by a world Peace Conference that might equally be a declaration issued by the Russian Government. Nevertheless we do not believe the Communists assist



in the development of the conditions of peace by the contriving of conferences that will make declarations along these lines.

If the Stockholm declaration had followed earlier declarations which had held a reasonable balance of appraisal as between the East and the West, condemning each impartially where condemnation was called for, the fact that the present declaration completely follows the lines of Russian proposals would be seen to have special significance. As it is, everybody assumes before the conference opens that its conclusions will follow the lines of Russian policy and the fact that Russian policy today gives evidence of a greater concern for peace than does that of the US is obscured rather than illuminated.

Even with the conclusions reached by the Stockholm Conference bias is not absent.

That the action of the US and Britain in the Middle East can be characterised as aggression we agree. There must have been many present at Stockholm, however, who regarded the Russian military intervention in Hungary as equally an aggression and one with much more tragic consequences. Although the Western aggression is referred to there is no mention of the Russian aggression; and there is also, of course, no mention of the Government murder of Nagy and his colleagues, and the subsequent deplorable trials that many of those present at Stockholm must have regarded as a sequel to the Russian aggression of 1956.

### "Mutual trust"

**THE** reference in the Stockholm declaration to measures of control and inspection based on mutual trust is a curious one. It is probably intended to approve of the Russian conception and reject such proposals from the US as the earlier Baruch proposals for the control of nuclear power and the Eisenhower "open skies" plan.

A system of control and inspection based on mutual trust, however, is a contradiction in terms. Where there is mutual trust there can be disarmament without control and inspection—there can even be disarmament without regard for what other governments are doing.

It is precisely because there is no trust that control and inspection are called for; unless we are doing an injustice to those who framed the declaration, and what they are implying is a sufficient degree of mutual trust to make acceptable the "open skies" plan and a generous admission of an inspectorate to the various national territories to make possible the degree of international control required.

It is absence of trust that militates equally against disarmament and against the development of a comprehensive plan of inspection.

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# New crises in the making

**WHILST** the Summit Conference foregathers, let us turn to other parts of the world than the Middle East, to territories where injustices unless remedied, will create the crises of the future. They are so many that we must pass from one to another in rapid succession.

## Treason in S. Africa

Ninety-two South Africans—58 Africans, 16 Indians, 16 Europeans and 2 Coloured (mixed race)—are facing trial for treason in Pretoria. I don't know who described this as the "oddest and nastiest phenomenon of contemporary Africa." Whoever it may have been, he was right.

The prisoners must know that in world opinion they are trying the Government rather than the Government trying them. We must not allow ourselves to become muted by the dreary length of the trial. Some think that South Africa's racist Ministers will be satisfied by the gesture of the trial; that they will not press for harsh sentences.

**I do not take this view. The Ministers will be justified in the minds of their supporters only by heavy and extensive sentences.**

For treason which does not necessitate violence the death penalty may be imposed. A prisoner may be sentenced to ten years' imprisonment if he is "deemed" by the Governor-General to be a "Communist."

We must get protests stirring everywhere: in Europe, America, other parts of Africa, Asia. It is a mistake to think that the Government of South Africa is indifferent to world opinion. It cannot afford to be isolated. Protests must mount all through the trial and must become overwhelming before the sentences are pronounced.

## Where one man rules

Near to South Africa are the three British Protectorates—Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland.

Two contradictory things are happening there. On the one hand, there is the rising pressure for elected Parliaments.

**At present the Protectorates are governed by the personal decree of one man—the British High Commissioner, who does not even live in the territories he rules. His headquarters are at Pretoria in the Union of South Africa!**

But now we have the demand not only of Africans and Europeans alike in Bechuanaland (a happy sign of race co-operation), but of the Basutoland National Council (an African advisory body) for representative assemblies with legislative powers, and there is little doubt that they will come.

This thought has stunned South Africa, because it destroys the hope of the incorporation of the Protectorates in the Union. The cherished and confident hope of the Whites for forty years.

## Why defend S. Africa

On the other hand, there is a development which links South Africa and the Protectorates militarily. The British Government has signed a Defence Agreement which gives the Union Government many facilities on and over the territory of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. In the House of Commons just before we dispersed (quite wrongly, in my view: what happens at the Summit Conference is in the balance), I put two questions which seem to me fundamental.

**Why should the British Government co-operate in defending South Africa, which in many respects is more tyrannical than Communist countries?**

And why should we impose on the Protectorates a joint system of defence with South Africa, when their peoples are so deeply opposed to the *apartheid* regime?

## Fate of Northern Rhodesia

The fate of Northern Rhodesia is to be decided whilst Parliament is adjourned: the fate of race relations, co-operation or violent antagonism. I don't think this is an exaggeration.

The Government of Northern Rhodesia

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

produced constitutional proposals which I have described in earlier articles. In a sentence, these would have given the three-per-cent-of-the-population White two-thirds of the seats in the Parliament. There were other objectionable features.

**Because African standards of education and wages will rise over the years, provision is made to lift the educational and income qualifications for Africans so as to keep them in a continuous minority!**

Another intolerable feature is to give the Chiefs (paid servants of the Government) the power to prohibit any African candidature. When I asked a European member of the delegation to London the reason for this, he replied frankly that it was to give British officials the opportunity to stop "extremists" being nominated!

The Legislature in Northern Rhodesia has for varying reasons refused to accept these proposals, so the Governor and an all-party delegation has come to see Mr. Lennox-Boyd. And he has told Parliament that he will make his decision during the Recess! We can debate it when we come back, too late to alter it.

If the Colonial Secretary adopts anything like these proposals, the Africans won't have anything to do with them. Then the hope of reconciliation will have gone. We shall approach the fatal year of 1960, when the Europeans of Central Africa threaten physical resistance if Britain does not give their White-dominated regime independence, in an atmosphere of race war. Central Africa descends to doom like a Greek tragedy.

## Jagan in trouble again

Finally, British Guiana, where Dr. Cheddi Jagan's party was re-elected to office after the three years' suspension of the Constitution following his earlier challenging administration.

Dr. Jagan has meanwhile learned something from Pandit Nehru in India and Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana; but his newly-found patience is nearly exhausted.

**Unemployment in British Guiana stands at 18 per cent.: 26,000 jobless workers out of 135,000. He will refuse to carry on unless the British Government gives aid for development.**

So we shall have the Malta situation of last April over again. Dom Mintoff, Malta's Labour Prime Minister, resigned rather than become responsible for the effects in unemployment of British policy. Dr. Jagan now threatens to resign.

How much better it would be if Mr. Lennox-Boyd and his colleagues faced up to the needs of British Guiana now rather than after another constitutional crisis.

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# W.R.I. Conference

FROM PAGE ONE

tween states, and the steps taken to protect markets. He emphasised the fact that the conflicts arising from such questions were not the only causes of war but were nearly always re-enforced by others, not primarily concerned with economics.

Harold Bing's subject was International Organisations. The WRI Chairman traced the growth of national states and the extension of their interests into international rivalries and the consequent need for international co-operation.

Discussing the reasons for the failure of the League of Nations he emphasised some of the important differences between it and the United Nations. Though the latter was still open to some of the same objections, the importance of the specialised agencies of UN was beyond question.

The third lecture was given by Diderich Lund, the Norwegian engineer who has been supervising the five-year scheme sponsored by his Government to assist in building up the fishing industry in a part of India.

**His main point was that those who wished to get rid of causes of conflict must be concerned about the difference in standards of living between poor and rich nations.**

The gap between such standards was tending to increase and it was necessary for adequate action to be taken to improve the conditions of those living in the have-not countries.

## Aid without strings

The scheme in which he had been concerned was the result of an agreement between India, Norway and the United Nations, who had now taken over responsibility for it.

**Any aid should be given in such a way as to avoid the impression that behind it was a political or military motive, and the use of the specialised agencies of UN would achieve that.**

Because he believed that there were no genuine political causes for war between East and West, Heinz Kraschutski, from Berlin, discussed the serious danger of fear and mistrust. While he thought that neither America nor the USSR had any intention of starting a war, there was a real danger of war by accident, especially when propaganda from both sides was designed to show how bad the other side was.

Ulla Hansen, Denmark, stressed the important part which religions could and should play in peacemaking, and Pierre Martin, speaking as a teacher, discussed the part of education in peacemaking. He gave an interesting description of the work which he had been able to do in a school in Algeria.

"Non-violence" was the title of Arlo Tatum's lecture and he dealt with his subject at the personal level. Stressing the need for pacifists to have a clearer understanding as to the basis from which they could operate as peaceful persons within a society permeated with violence, he defined "love" as "accepting an active concern for others." Love united because it was both outgoing and in-pulling and was essential to the establishment of brotherhood. Lov-

ing your neighbour as yourself did not mean loving your neighbour instead of yourself. Self-love and the ability to love others were interrelated, and Christ never thought in terms of selfishness or unselfishness.

**We cannot love others unless we love ourselves, and it was necessary not only to recognise "that of God in every man" but "that of me in every other man."**

The most convincing pacifist, the International Secretary concluded, was not the one with the best arguments but the one who was himself most disarmed and defenceless.

## Nuclear weapons

Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the British Peace Pledge Union, speaking on disarmament, explained the failure of attempts to reach disarmament by agreement, though there was general recognition that total peace involved total disarmament.

He pointed out that even if agreement were reached on banning nuclear weapons, any future war would become a nuclear war and that no inspection or control of existing stock piles was possible.

**Pacifists had the only logical and reasonable answer in their insistence on total unconditioned disarmament.**

Uli Herz, Sweden, gave an amusing talk on the psychological causes of war, illustrating the dangers that arose when members of one nation had fixed ideas about members of another nation. It was necessary to stop generalising and always regard another person not as a type but as an individual who was fundamentally an object of potential friendship and not of suspicion.

In the closing lecture, Niels Mathieson, Norway, dealing with "New Ways," outlined thirteen methods through which pacifists could be more active in spreading their message.

**He thought that one reason why there was so little interest in pacifist activities was the lack of a positive appeal in pacifist propaganda.**

Referring to the need to have an alternative to war, he said that non-violence was not a magical formula but a basis for a completely new variety of action about which considerable study was still necessary.

## To meet again

The holding of the summer school at Store Restrup was made possible by the kindness of its Principal, Svend Haugaard, who is also Chairman of the Danish Section. Its success was due to the trouble which he and his wife, helped by a willing staff, took to provide for the housing and feeding of those who attended, and also to Hagbard Jonassen and Arlo Tatum who planned the school.

The best tribute to them was the unanimous request for another international school next year, though on that occasion membership will probably be confined to those pacifists who could not only be considered young in spirit, but are actually also young in age, with thirty years as the limit.



Young pacifists were easily in the majority at the War Resisters' Summer School.



# The Map of Mrs. Brown

I DO not remember any time in my life when I have felt so powerless or so intellectually isolated. I am writing this article to clear my own mind and to discover, from its reception, whether my sense of isolation is an illusion.

It is not that I am a defeatist. The more sterile my own thinking becomes, the stronger is my conviction that the solution of our major problem—the abolition of war—is so obvious that I cannot see it.

## utter frustration

As a Quaker, I seek peace by the ways of peace. But the world crisis is, for me, a personal crisis of utter frustration. One curious thing is that if the world crisis became a personal crisis for everyone it would cease to exist; for one aspect of the problem is that the state of society is critical just because most individuals are indifferent to it. Even to disseminate anxiety ought therefore to be of some value. One circle of causation in which I am caught is due to the fact that I am frustrated because I cannot share my frustration.

Many of my friends and colleagues have programmes. I divide them into three groups. Group One is the Pacifist Old Guard. They are good old sloggers who cling bravely to the belief that the slogans and activities which have been proved and tested by decades of dismal failure deserve our allegiance and will at any moment lead on to victory.

## sense of urgency

Group Two I call the Perfectionists. They say many things with which I agree about war and society; and having proved that there can be no peace without a complete social, political, economic, psychological and spiritual revolution, they nevertheless leave me with an awkward feeling that they are talking very good sense about town planning when the immediate and urgent necessity is a fire engine, which they reject as a palliative.

Group Three are acutely conscious of time. They have a sense of urgency, which I share with them, and believe that if people can be induced to take one step towards peace they may see the sense of taking a second and a third. In this, too, I find excellent sense. But I find in Group

Three a passion for action which is not directed by any real understanding of what they are up against.

And that leaves me, and I suspect some others, not very happy about any of these groups, but without any constructive suggestions of my own. It also leaves the vast majority of mankind (quite uninterested in any of their would-be saviours) shambling like zombies to destruction.

## practical idealist

Gandhi had the best qualities of Group Two and Group Three. A perfectionist in his own life and in his ultimate ideals, he knew that his task was to inspire and lead ordinary people on one limited objective

By  
Reginald  
Reynolds

after another until they grew to a greater perception of human destiny. He called himself a Practical Idealist.

He could, like an Old Testament Prophet, try to convert an individual ruler—such as Smuts or Irwin. But he also knew that Prime Ministers and Viceroy were not (like Old Testament Kings) free agents. While those whom they represented remained unconverted, rulers could be replaced as easily as the human tools they used for repression: the soldier, the policeman, the prison warder and the executioner.

## the executioner

No campaign against capital punishment would make much progress if its main activity was to picket prisons and seek to convert the hangman. When a hanging takes place the whole of acquiescent society is the executioner; and, while society continues to approve, someone will always be found to do the work. I have seen it stated that it would be worthwhile to persuade even one single worker at Aldermaston to give up the work of death—the construction of nuclear weapons. That is true. It would be even better to persuade one single hangman to give up hanging. It would represent a very high percentage of the profession, which is very limited in numbers, and it would have a more spectacular effect—perhaps even a deeper one—on the mind of his employers: the public.

But such a success would not touch the centre of the problem. It would have, at best, only a peripheral effect on the mind of Society. Also I have a growing conviction that it is Society, rather than its employees in the work of death, which could—if we knew how—be enlightened, stirred up to emotional realism and convinced. The executioner knows his job better than I do. If his work does not cause revulsion, why should my description of it do so? It is Society which needs to face the reality which the hangman has faced—and accepted. Society, one hopes, if it really faced it, would reject it. And in a very similar way I find that I have little to say to those who make our lethal weapons for us. What could I hope to tell Sir William Penney that he does not already know, much better than I do, and apparently accepts? But Mrs. Brown, who votes for

John Smith, MP, who supports nuclear weapons in Parliament, is not—I suspect—so well informed as Sir William. She either cannot or will not accept things which seem very plain to me. So long as Mrs. Brown and Mr. Smith actively or passively accept the politics of universal suicide, there will always be somebody to do Sir William's job.

## irrelevancies

It is the mind of Mrs. Brown which worries me. I think about her almost continually and I get no nearer to understanding her. She is not, I find, a very aggressive person. But when she thinks about war at all—which seems to be very seldom—she appears to be quite incapable of



visualising what it would mean to herself or to anybody else. If you argue with her you meet a mass of mutually inconsistent irrelevancies. Some of my friends patiently try to discuss things with her, and I am not impressed by the results. Others try to frighten her, and they fare even worse.

The shadow of the hangman once more provides a startling analogy. In the days when hundreds of men, women and children in Britain were still hanged every year for small thefts, under savage laws, that great penal reformer, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, asked himself how this was possible. Why did not the fear of such a frightful penalty deter people from petty theft? Could it really be worth while to achieve so small a gain at such a terrible risk?

## beyond imagination

The answer which Wakefield found was that the penalty was so great that it was beyond the average person's powers to imagine it. Or, alternatively, that he shut his mind to it. He pointed to the fact that for hundreds of years people had believed in Hell Fire, but that this belief had made little difference to human behaviour, because an eternity of Hell Fire was impossible to imagine and easily "shut out" from one's calculations. In exactly the

same way the reality of nuclear war is too great to be imagined and easily excluded by unconscious mechanisms of the mind. And this brings me to a startling conclusion, though it provides only the tentative beginning of a realistic programme.

## the blockage

It is stupid to try to frighten Mrs. Brown, because her imagination refuses to comprehend your modern brand of Hell Fire. And it is foolish to argue with Mrs. Brown, because she is not really rational in her objections to your case. She is merely "rationalising" what she wants to believe; and if you drive her out of one bogus line of defence, with tremendous effort, she will take refuge in another. What you and I need is to find out much more about Mrs. Brown. We need to discover where the "blockage" is, and give some thought to removing it.

If you and I were conducting a big business, producing an excellent commodity in which we had complete confidence, and if nobody would buy it, would we spend our time in forms of advertisement which had been proved to have no effect on our potential customers? Would we instruct our salesmen to argue the logical case for buying what we had to sell, once it had been demonstrated that logic cut no ice at all? We would not. We should engage a team of motivation research merchants to find out what was the real, emotional "blockage" and then we should set to work to get past that "blockage."

So my programme for Mrs. Brown—and Mr. Brown and all their relatives—is that we should begin with a survey. What we need is a few social psychologists, willing to give some time as instructors to a team of men and women who would set out under the instructions of the social psychologists on a fact-finding mission. The results of their field researches would then be studied by the psychologists, and out of their findings we might hope to discover the art of making Mrs. Brown "vulnerable."

## feeling the truth

I cannot anticipate those findings. If I could, the research I propose would be unnecessary. But I will make a guess now that if a way is found it will be through some form of emotional release which will enable Mrs. Brown to feel the truth of things which at present are only intellectual abstractions and therefore practically meaningless to her.

Group Three are in a hurry. So am I. But I see no point in hurrying up another *cul de sac*. The quickest way to hurry in a country unknown to you is to consult the map first. Unfortunately, however, the map of Mrs. Brown has yet to be made. There is no time to lose.

## Three nuclear incidents

IS anybody prepared to drop an H-bomb? What effect does public opinion have on government nuclear policy?

Robert Jungk, the author of the recently published book, "Brighter than a Thousand Suns," has told in the German weekly *Gesamtdeutsche Rundschau* of three incidents which have an important bearing on the answer to these questions.

Jungk reports that the former chief of the American Counter Intelligence Corps told him that in 1945 the American Secret Service cautioned against the use of American A-bombs on Japan. They argued that Japan wanted to surrender in any case. The bombs were dropped.

The commander of the air force responsible for dropping the bombs was the present Chief of Staff of NATO, General

Norstadt. At that time he argued that the bomb should be dropped. The way the Counter Intelligence Corps imagined the war ending, he said, was not "worthy" of his air force.

The generals also wanted to use the bomb at Dien Bien Phu, says Jungk. The French generals requested it. The American generals agreed. Eisenhower, however, would not give his consent unless he was supported by the British. The bomb was not used because Eden informed Eisenhower that British public opinion would not agree to such an action.

Finally, Jungk reports that numerous Soviet scientists—following the initiative of the University of Kiev—asked for a general cessation of nuclear bomb tests. Their demand had a considerable effect on the Supreme Soviet's resolution that the tests should be stopped.

Esmé  
Wynne-Tyson  
MITHRAS

THE FELLOW IN THE CAP

In solving the mystery of Mithras in her new book, Esmé Wynne-Tyson has also solved many other mysteries, such as the reason for the anomaly of 'Christian' nations waging total war and using nuclear fission to exterminate their fellow men.

\*Mrs Wynne-Tyson's dealings with "the fellow in the cap" as St. Augustine in *Fury* called the god Mithras are most fascinating and apt to our times' THE OBSERVER

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# DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, August 8  
GLASGOW, C.2: 10.30 a.m. Christian Institute, 70 Bothwell St. CO Tribunal.  
LONDON, S.W.6: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Fulham Town Hall (opp. Fulham Bdy Stn.) Tribunal for COs.

Saturday, August 9  
LIVERPOOL: 7.30 p.m. Pier Head. Open Air. Peace News selling and leaflet distribution, helpers required. PPU.  
LONDON, W.C.1: 4 p.m. Poster Parade. Assemble at 6 Endsleigh St., Euston PPU.

Sunday, August 10  
BRISTOL: 3 p.m. Durdham Downs. Open-air mtg. Will Parkin, Owen Brown, etc. PPU.  
Monday, August 11  
LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge House, Ebury Bridge Rd. Appellate Tribunal for COs.

WIMBLEDON, S.W.19: 7.45 p.m. 31 Parkwood Rd. (off Alexandra Rd.). Inaugural mtg. of new group. Sybil Morrison "The PPU in the World Crisis." PPU.

Monday, August 11—Monday, August 18  
PORTSMOUTH: 241 New Rd. Bookshop for sale of books and literature on nuclear disarmament. CND.

Saturday, August 16—Saturday, August 23  
ELFINSWARD, Haywards Heath, Sx. Anglican Pacifist Conference "Arms and the World Today." Local friends welcome at all sessions. APF, 29 Gt. James St., London, W.C.1.

Monday, September 8  
BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Road, Kings Heath. Meeting of Kings Heath and Cotteridge PPU. All Welcome.

Monday, September 15  
SHEFFIELD: 7.45 p.m. 360 Crookesmoor Rd. Stuart Morris on his recent visit to Russia. PPU.

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**Every week!**  
SUNDAYS  
LONDON: 3 p.m.; Hyde Park, Speakers' Corner. Pacifist Forum.  
LONDON: 3 p.m.; Clapham Common. Christian Pacifist Open-air Meeting. The Brotherhood of the Way.

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Queens Pk. Gate, top of Victoria Rd. Open-air Meeting.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS  
LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and decorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 22 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS  
MANCHESTER: 1.2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air meeting. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS  
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.  
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS  
BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull St. Meeting House (outside) Peace News selling.

\*\*\*\*\*  
**"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"**  
This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.  
Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters  
DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE  
6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

## Dolci Scott Huxley Acland Hale Coulson Pauling BOOKS TO COME

INCLUDED in the trade lists of books that will be issued during the autumn there are a number that we hope to review in this paper because, for one reason or another, they will be of interest to readers.

Mahatma Gandhi, a new biography by B. R. Nanda (30s.), will correlate the story of his life with the evolution of his ideas, using much new material that has only become available since the Mahatma's death. An autobiography that will be eagerly read is *A Time to Speak* by the Rev. Michael Scott (21s.).

On War by a Frenchman, Raymon Aron (15s.), will discuss the present possibility of war with nuclear weapons and with so-called conventional weapons in the light of recent experience, while two American experts, Edward Teller and Albert Latter, have written what is described as a highly controversial account of nuclear weapons and the nature of radiation; it is entitled *Our Nuclear Future* (18s.) so apparently takes an optimistic view.

Other highly promising titles are *No More War!* "a hard-hitting attack on official scientific policy" by the American Nobel Prize winner, Linus Pauling, and *Total Peace*, by Sir Richard Acland

## NEW BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS Terrible legacy

FRANK DAWTRY reviews

My Mother Was Hanged. By E. S. Willards. Heinemann, 13s. 6d.

TO try to turn a real situation of true tragedy into imaginative fiction is a very difficult task, but the execution of Mrs. Ruth Ellis, who killed her faithless lover and whose execution left behind a small boy to grow up with a strange legacy, was bound to exercise the minds of sensitive writers. Mr. Willards is the second to attempt a novel obviously built on that tragedy.

He has made his effort more dramatic, and more obviously emotional, but much less sensitively and much less convincingly than did Ethel Mannin in "Pity the Innocent." He writes rapidly and somewhat fiercely, but his climax is obvious for a long time yet strange and sad and not very convincing when it arrives. His effort to interpret the world of the youth whose mother had been hanged, and his questionings and thoughts is excellent; but he is lost in trying to fill in the youth's actions or to describe his inactions.

The author is apparently a native of Holland, where the book first appeared, but he is lacking in knowledge of legal procedure in England, and so he twice describes a trial, including the prosecution's case and the efforts of the defence, although the accused had pleaded guilty, and he twice discusses the attitude and action of a jury which would not have been there. But to criticise is not to condemn, and the story, despite its strange confusions and its far-fetched coincidences, is a valiant attempt to bring home to the unthinking the terrible legacy left by the use of the death penalty. The opponents of the death penalty are often accused of forgetting the victim of a crime. It is to be hoped that this story will lead some of those critics to consider the further, and usually truly innocent, victims created almost invariably by every execution.

## No school for them

TWO hundred and fifty million children in rural areas of the world have no school to go to. Even in the most advanced schools where primary education is compulsory "one teacher schools" predominate. In the US, half the primary schools in 1954 had only one or two teachers.

Facts like these show the importance of the twenty-first International Conference on Public Education which met this year from July 7-16 to discuss "Facilities for education in rural areas," "The preparation and issues of the primary school curriculum," and the progress during the 1956-1957 school year.

The conference is convened jointly by UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education.

Palermo, by Danilo Dolci, the Italian conscientious objector who renounced his career to live among Sicilian peasants, is an account of the conditions he found, especially in Palermo (18s.). *The Quakers*, by John Sykes (21s.), will trace the rise of the Society of Friends through the turmoil and persecution of the three hundred odd years of its existence, while in *The Flame and the Light* Hugh I'Anson Fausset writes of the meanings in Vedanta and Buddhism (25s.). Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World Revisited* (12s. 6d.) will be an examination of the problem of liberty in the modern world.

Two paper-backs (2s. 6d. each) that are sure to be welcomed are *Cry, The Beloved Country*, by Alan Paton, and *Science and Christian Belief*, by Charles Coulston.

Among a number written by pacifists on other subjects there is *John Philpot Curran: His Life and Times* (25s.), a major work on the Irish lawyer who fought the cases of the state prisoners in 1798, by Leslie Hale, MP.

## STUDY PAMPHLET

ROY SHERWOOD reviews

Break Through. A study pamphlet by Stuart Hall, with an appendix by John Hodgess Roper, issued by the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. 1s. 6d.

COMING at a time when the international situation is so dangerous that millions of people would feel less anxious about their chances of survival during the next few months if there were no nuclear armament in existence, this is of topical as well as general importance

It presents the argument, irrespective of pacifist or moral considerations, for the abolition of nuclear weapons, in the first place by Britain. In this, it begins with a reminder that both East and West have ever since 1945 been acting on the assumption that they would be attacked by the other side unless they were strong enough to make it plain that such an attack would not "pay off."

Hence the armaments race, with its introduction of terms which have become common currency, such as "stalemate" and "deterrent," both of which are negative in the sense that what they stand for does not mean the least progress towards a slackening of existing tensions or a lessening of the competition between the two sides to "go one better" than whatever happens to be thought fearful enough at any given moment to deter the other side from risking an attack through fear of "massive retaliation."

At one time that was the atom bomb, believed capable of fully counterbalancing Russia's superior military manpower. Then came the hydrogen variety, welcomed as really "ultimate" even after the Russians had caught up in the production of this latest kind of horror, because it "would never have to be used"—the reason being that both sides knew they could not themselves escape devastation in a war using such weapons.

This phase, too, did not prove decisive in favour of at least the definite forswearing of war, if not of definite efforts towards real peace. There came a time when it was announced that the West must use nuclear weapons against any "massive" Russian attack in Europe even if that attack were carried out only with "conventional" weapons, and that is the present position, with Britain one of the first targets for Soviet nuclear bombs in such an eventuality.

In these conditions, asks Mr. Stuart Hall, what is the use of Britain's possession of a necessarily small number of nuclear bombs not needed by the Americans, who have plenty of them, set against the enormous increase in liberty of political negotiation and influence which would be gained for this country if it scrapped its nuclear weapons and ceased to be the main base for US hydrogen bomb warfare against Russia.

This short review does not do justice to the step-by-step argument of the pamphlet, which is further strengthened by the appendix. That alone makes uncomfortable reading, in its chronological enumeration of facts concerning the long-drawn-out disarmament negotiations between East and West, for any unprejudiced Western observer.

## PEACE NEWS—August 8, 1958—7 CLASSIFIED

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MEETINGS  
BIRMINGHAM PEACE COMMITTEE (ass. with British Peace Committee) Emergency Meeting—Midland Institute—Wednesday Aug. 13, 7 p.m.—"Britain and the Middle East."

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION  
A VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE in the heart of the Lake District, Rothay Bank, Grasmere, Westmorland, offers comfortable rooms and expertly planned meals, attention to those requiring rest as well as facilities for walkers, climbers, motorists. Large garden with views of fells—Isabel James. Telephone: Grasmere 334.

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"LIBERTE," the French pacifist weekly. 36s. a year, 20s. 6 mths. (US \$5 seamount, \$10 airmail, a year) from Housmans (Peace News bookshop), 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends' Home Service Ctee., Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

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SITUATIONS VACANT  
PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

## Young Peaceseekers

A new youth group, Young Peaceseekers, has been established at Alton, Hants. Not all convinced pacifists, they are united in recognising the evil of war and the necessity for exploring non-violent means of peacemaking. Members sold nearly 100 copies of PN on the recent "March on London," and will be helping in the current picket at Aldermaston. The secretary is 15-year-old Barbara Mann, "Woodlawn," Beech, Alton.

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1,154 Aug. 8, 1958 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

## Opposition group in missile town

Theodore Olson and Arthur Springer report from a U.S. missile base

OUR first conversation with the people of Cheyenne revealed a great deal of readiness to discuss the missile base, serious misgivings about the base from which Atlas intercontinental missiles can carry an H-bomb 6,000 miles in thirty minutes, and a strong feeling of fatalism about whether anything could be done.

A small group of citizens who oppose the base have formed a local committee and have linked up with a University of Wyoming professor who has prepared an impartial scientific poll that does not attempt to influence opinion.

We found that many more people would sponsor this kind of poll (over thirty have done so) than would work with a partisan committee. Canvassing has been done by Girl Scouts, Y-teens and others. The results are being evaluated by a committee of professors at the university.

Street-corner distribution of our leaflet has met with an extremely good response. In addition Press and radio are giving us full and fair coverage.

By doing what we can to stop construction of the Cheyenne missile base we affirm our conviction that the final judge of great decisions must be the individual conscience. As the editors of "Life" wrote in August, 1945, shortly after the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: "The individual conscience against the atomic bomb? Yes, there is no other way."

### IN PEACE NEWS NEXT WEEK

FENNER BROCKWAY, MP,

writes from Warsaw.

MURIEL LESTER

China re-visited. A frank description of her meeting with Chinese Christians.

HORACE ALEXANDER

Reviews a new book by Gandhi's secretary, Pyarelal.

WILLIAM CARY

An American Quaker's "Reflections on the Stockholm Conference."

Place an order with your newsagent today.

Order extra copies for your friends.

THE questioner was a young girl, sincere and earnest, and, it seemed to me, truly anxious to be convinced. This was, plainly, something she had not been able to resolve, something that blocked the way along which she could have come, and indeed wanted to come, to stand by my side and say along with me: "I renounce war."

There are many people who hesitate, even against their own instinct and their own muttering conscience, to do something that seems to them a cowardly retreat from responsibility; the responsibility of the citizen to the State, and the person to his neighbour in the community.

This feeling, chiefly emotional and un-reasoned, arises largely from the reiterated propaganda in regard to a citizen's duty to obey the injunctions of governments in time of war, and a man's duty to protect his "women and children."

The fact that it is in war that innocent people suffer and are killed, is overlooked because of the concentration upon the need to oppose attack and aggression. This concentration is induced almost entirely by governmental indoctrination; when governments decide upon war, then naturally their

# FOURTEEN QUESTIONS ON CIVIL DEFENCE

A GROUP of local citizens visited the Wanstead and Woodford (Essex) CD headquarters on July 24, seeking information on measures against the effects of nuclear weapon tests, accidents or attacks. The group made it clear that their object was to request factual details of CD.

We publish below the questions that the group asked the Civil Defence officer of the borough, with the gist of the CD officer's replies.

Do arrangements exist so that a citizen can make direct contact now with CD control at any time of day or night?

No.

Which priority classes are listed for evacuation and to approximately which "safer areas"?

No information yet available. Evacuation might be to Canada, but people would be doomed if sufficient bombs were used.

The SAC control room is reported to be 45 feet underground, with cartridge-sealed doors against radio-activity. What is the estimated cost of comparable protection for control centres for our vital services?

I haven't a clue.

What is the estimated period needed to make preparations for turning the households of the borough into basic survival units, as suggested in the Government brochure "The Hydrogen Bomb," page 19?

## Aldermaston

★ FROM PAGE ONE

It also underlines the terrible consequences of present nuclear weapon tests.

"The Government has declared its intention," the leaflet continues, "to use the H-bomb in certain circumstances—to maintain our democratic freedoms and moral values! Surely democracy, individual integrity and moral values cannot be defended by the threat of mass murder?"

Other speakers were Rex Hewitt, a lay preacher, whose talents as a cook are being put to good use at the vigilers' camp, and Barry Ballas. "I think you are moral heroes," one man in the large audience commented.

On the previous day a successful outdoor meeting was held at St. Marys Butts, Reading, by the Aldermaston vigilers.

Morale was high among the vigilers as the demonstration entered its third week. Housing estates in the area are being canvassed and several workers have signed a petition drawn up by the Committee calling on the Government to use the plant at Aldermaston for peaceful purposes only as they "do not wish to be associated in any way with work on nuclear weapons."

About fifty people have taken part in the vigil so far. A questionnaire to be answered by workers at the plant is being prepared with the help of London University sociologists.

What quantities of sandbags, battery radios, etc., are available in the borough?

Same as for previous question.

How many household refuge rooms, as recommended for use "perhaps for days," have been prepared (with provision for filtered air, protected water, sealed food packages, special sanitation, etc.) in the borough, officially or privately?

Not known, but there were none officially prepared.

What volume of protected drinking water is available?

Enquire of Metropolitan Water Board, but it was thought by some that London supplies were unlikely to be affected.

What volume of static fire-fighting water is available?

Apply to Fire Service for information.

Have rescue personnel and fire-fighters been issued with protective clothing against local radio-activity?

No, but trainees were shown a sample of the latest Home Office type respirator.

What underground medical supplies are available locally?

None to my knowledge.

Has a study been made by local personnel of Swedish CD methods, including basic town planning, central shelters, etc.?

No; this was not in the official syllabus.

Have CD first-aid trainees been given access to the report of the Japanese Red Cross Society "The Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and the Japanese Red Cross" or to data on the effects on living animals of test H-bombs?

No; but the question of the Japanese report would be referred to the Borough CD Committee.

Will the CD officer arrange for CD personnel to see the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament exhibition "No Place to Hide" referred to in "The Times" as "46 grim lessons of nuclear war"?

No; but officially sponsored exhibitions and film shows had been held, open to the public.

Have CD trainees been encouraged to study non-Government literature such as the scientists' symposium "Fall Out," edited by Dr. A. Pirie (available in county library)?

No. They are trained in their tactical rôle, but free in their own time to seek and study such non-official literature.

Are the surface shelters at the Wanstead C of E Primary School being retained for possible future use?

Not known. Enquire of Essex County Council, but children would probably be evacuated.

## If scientists agree . . .

IF the scientists have reached almost complete agreement at Geneva about their ability to detect nuclear tests, why not reach agreement on this at summit talks?

Frank Allaun, MP, put this question to Prime Minister Macmillan last week. "Do you not feel," he added, "how deep is the longing among people to take this first step away from the abyss?"

The Prime Minister ignored the question. "As I understand it," he replied to Mr. Allaun, "quite satisfactory progress has been made by the scientists at Geneva, and we are hoping to have their full report, which I am sure will be a valuable contribution to the study of the problem."

## Support for crew of the Phoenix

THE crew of the Phoenix, who were arrested for entering the nuclear testing area in the Pacific, were last week on bail in Honolulu pending trial.

Their action was a protest against the tests and the US Government's restriction on the freedom of the seas.

Attempts are being made in the United States to organise support for Dr. Earle Reynolds, skipper of the Phoenix, and his crew. Money is being raised to help obtain the best legal counsel possible and to publicise the case. American contributions may be sent to Mrs. Sterling Leonard, 1320 West Dayton Street, Madison 5, Wisconsin.

## DIRTIER BOMBS

□ FROM PAGE ONE

we have dirtier bombs, certainly there has been no official suggestion of that kind." In actual fact, I. F. Stone's Weekly reports, dirtier bombs have been under study in the USA for three years.

Not satisfied with these answers, Senator Anderson suggested in a Senate speech that the Armed Services Committee "ask the military." Senator Russell then wrote a letter to the Secretary of Defence. He did not receive an answer for two months. In the meanwhile, the Secretary had tried to fob off Senator Russell with an oral answer.

In his reply, the Secretary of Defence divides the bombs into three classes. The first is the pure fission bomb which is referred to as the "normal weapon." The second is the bomb in which radio-activity has been minimised, referred to as the "clean bomb." The third class is that of "salted weapons." The salted weapon is one (like the cobalt bomb) to which other materials have been added to increase radio-activity beyond that of the pure fission bomb.

Finally, in reply to Senator Russell's direct question, "Are there bombs which have been withdrawn from stockpile for certain modifications which are dirtier because of the modifications," the secretary wrote, "If you refer to local fall-out, the answer is 'Yes.' . . ."

been renounced, but because it has been wholeheartedly supported.

It would seem certain that the ordinary people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were innocent of aggression, and people of this country may claim that they were innocent of the monstrous disaster that befell those innocent Japanese when the atom bomb was launched against them.

Yet it is not possible in common honesty to make such an arrogant claim. If, as was so often asserted, the Germans were responsible for Hitler and all his deeds, then no national can claim immunity for the deeds of their governments, and pacifists, in fact, make no such claim, for they cannot and not stand aside.

If war is evil and it is right to repudiate evil, then the decision must be taken on those grounds. It may bring suffering, but it is certain it cannot bring more suffering than war, and may well bring less. If this country had become pacifist between 1920 and 1930 there would have been no Hitler and no second world war.

It need not happen again; if the innocent are to be saved, war must be renounced.

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By Sybil Morrison

## INNOCENTS AT WAR

"I can see you may think it right to refuse to take part in war yourself, personally, but what about all the innocent people who suffer and die if everyone did the same as you. I don't see how anyone can just stand aside."

—Question in Hyde Park, Sunday, August 3, 1958.

nationals must be in a condition of mind that brings them to precisely the same conclusion.

In 1939 the persecution of Jews in Germany (which the British Government plainly had no intention of going to war to prevent) the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the threat to Poland, made it a simple matter in the end to persuade people in this country to fight in a war, which the majority would have said without hesitation they did not want.

During the war the citizens of this country were induced to believe that the Russian army was one of the finest in the world, and the Russian people among the bravest and most selfless.

No one even remembered, apparently, the Siberian labour camps or the operations of

OGPU. It was not expedient that they should do so, and so the propaganda of the day saw to it that they did not.

Now, the indoctrination is all the other way; Germany the one-time villain of the piece, is, though not quite the hero, certainly the Kind Uncle of the piece, while Russia at one time the hero, is now very clearly and certainly the villain.

Today, instead of fighting in order that innocent British people should not come under the tyranny of Fascism, it has become necessary to prepare to fight in order that innocent British people should not come under the tyranny of Communism.

The people who are persuaded to believe this never seem to remember the innocent people all over the world who are slaughtered and tortured, not because war has

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